1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

critical. He indirectly warned the ethnographer not to be taken in by River Joe's friendship, stating that River Joe quickly tired of people and then discarded them. Old Man periodically resented Joe's past criticism of the present Mrs. Man. According to Old Man, River Joe had resented at this marriage to an old woman and urged his former brother-in-law (Old Man had married sisters of River Joe's brother's wife) to find a young girl. Old Man expressed little sympathy with River Joe's widowhood, claiming that the latter had once called himself a Tako Indian, and why didn't he go to those people now in order to find a new woman. In his turn River Joe warned the ethnographer not to live with Old Man and compared his own settlement, with its clean, well floored houses, to Old Man's floorless buildings.

The same note was struck by Louis Man, who jeered at the poor accommodations which Old Man could offer the ethnographer and pointed pridefully to his better quarters. Louis' attitudes were echoed by his partner, Peter Tom. Derogatory attitudes were expressed by Old Man regarding Louis Man. He said that out of meanness Louis was not allowing his partner, Peter, to live in the former's new house but was forcing the youth to sleep in an old tent frame. This appears to have been a total misconstruction of facts, since Peter had previously boasted that the tent frame would become his own when Louis moved into his new house.

We also heard Peter Tom criticize River Joe for turning against people who ate his grub. This antagonism may be explained by the fact that after having lived with one of Joe's daughters for a year, Peter found his plans to wed the girl legally frustrated by the older man's sudden change of mind. Peter also asserted that Hans Donnelly did not treat his wife well, forcing her to haul and cut wood. There is reason to believe that even a neighbor's economic hardship is often experienced as gratifying. An indication of this comes from the amusement with which travelers' news of poor luck in hunting and trapping is received in the winter settlements.

All of these illustrations come from one tribal district and show the character of the attitudes existing between close neighbors. Even within a single settlement there may be antagonism, especially if members of two unrelated or affinally related families live in proximity. Thus Harry Lang accused his brother-in-law's, Hans, mother of having "talked" about him and thereby influenced Hans to build his own tent frame and cease sharing Harry's house.

One function of interpersonal hostility is to reduce any feeling of ingroup solidarity and thus to reaffirm the economic social structure. Between people of different tribal districts even stronger antagonisms prevail. Such people are often referred to as strangers or as "different people." Thus one afternoon Louis Man expressed his suspicion that the people across the river were drinking a horse. He added, "We can't go over there. Those different people. They never trust." Asked for his opinion about the Crow Indians, who were Nahane Indians, Old Man replied that he didn't know the Crow "hunch" but said that, according to Mary Wiley, who had lived with them as an affinal relative, they were "pretty hard to get along with and always talk about other people." He also reported River Joe's decision that the Nahane people were "no good." When Richard Day was asked his opinion of Edward Crow, he stated that the latter is disliked by many people. All he

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609 would add by way of explanation was: "He lies." Later Richard added that he would not
578 associate with Edward for fear of imperiling his friendship with age mates. Even older
571 children show characteristic behavior toward companions from other districts. When
186 Donald Sam first appeared in Lower Post, after fourteen years spent at Frances Lake, a number of youths approached and inspected him, calling him: "Stranger." They then threatened to hurt him. Donald remained submissive. An hour or two later the same boys had fully accepted the visitor. In these attitudes and behaviors toward members of contiguous and mutually intelligible Kaska tribes we see the beginnings of the ethnocentrism which will be discussed in connection with intergroup relations. In a last analysis the true ingroup among the Kaska is probably the nuclear family.

578 Any overt expression of hostility in quarrels and ingroup violence is rare. When people
183 are sober there is consistency between ideals and behavior so far as the control of aggression is concerned. Even the possibility of inviting quarreling is forestalled by the fact that many people are quick to flee from any such threatening situation. Although one or two dominant and assertive men appear more ready to face disharmony, in general the pattern for both sexes is rigorously to suppress and ignore all open expression of hostility.

Intoxication sometimes alters this picture. In this condition, a number of men show readiness to revive old grudges and air antagonisms without fear of provoking violence. In English, the drunken quarrelers hurl insults replete with obscenity at one another in an attempt to provoke an initial act of violence. Before the mounting hostility can reach this level, women with their young children have generally retreated to a safe distance. Often
578 the provocations to violence remain unaccepted by either party, and the quarrel peters out
579 in a last disgusted exchange of insults. Sometimes, however, the challenge is taken up and
185 blows begin to be exchanged. While fists are used at first, this form of fighting soon yields to wrestling, the aim being to throw the opponent and then choke him into surrender. Weapons of any kind were never observed to be employed in quarrels. Sometimes a woman will try to separate two men who are fighting, but generally women are too timid to venture close. Old Man was rather outstanding among men for his consistent tendency to forestall aggression at beer drinks; he also broke up many fights. Antagonism following such quarrels is rarely prolonged, although the resentment may continue covertly and motivate additional aggression during a subsequent drinking party. Sometimes in intoxication a bullying type of behavior appears. Louis Maas once manifested such behavior when he asked Nitla, a very pacifistic youth, to wrestle him. Nitla immediately declined. Louis then rudely took away a dipper of coffee which Nitla was drinking, but again the latter displayed no emotion. Turning his attention elsewhere, Louis picked up a nearly empty tea pot and emptied the grinds on Edward Prince, at the same time winking to the ethnographer. Edward ignored the slight and remarked: "Must be raining." Only an hour or so previously, when both had been much drunken, Edward and Louis had quarreled bitterly, but now Edward was sobering up and refused the implicit challenge evident in Louis' behavior.

578 Family life is not characterized by quarreling. Ideally a man feels entitled to beat his
593 wife if he suspects that she has been untrue to him, but not all men avail themselves of this permitted behavior. Several husbands (including Hans Donnelly, Edward Prince, and Louis Maas) are noted for aggression toward wives when intoxicated. One such quarrel was ob-

1: Honigmann E-5 , (1943-1945) 199 ND12 Nahane ND12

served between Louie and his wife, Allie. Perhaps because she was herself partially intoxi- 578
cated, Allie showed no fear when her drunken husband began to beat her. Several times she 593
half heartedly ran away. Once Louie caught her by the hair, knocked her to the ground, and began to punch her with his fists. With some effort the ethnographer and Old Man succeeded in separating the couple. Allie still stood her ground, and only with difficulty could she be urged to run away.

All open expression of hostility is socially condemned. Since alcohol is understood as 626
causing most aggressive behavior, there is a feeling that individuals prone to violence are 578
not good drinkers. As we have shown, this idea does not lead to the realistic exclusion of such men from drinking situations. Once the aggressive person returns to sobriety, he strongly regrets his behavior.

Intergroup Relations

Relations between Kaska-speaking Indians and non-Kaska people are generally restricted. 648
The greatest amount of such interaction is carried on with Tahltan, Bear Lake, and Tselo-na neighbors, also with the whites. Most of the Kaska has heard of the Pelly River Indians to the north, but interaction between these two groups is rare.

Socially patterned attitudes toward Indian groups who reside outside of the Kaska area 648
are characterized by an ethnocentrism which is expressed mainly in unfavorable opinions 186
and is most strongly directed against the Tahltan. Sometimes it influences relations with the nearby Sekani tribes, with which considerable marriage has occurred. While Kaska judgments of their neighbors tend to extol the ingroup, any direct expression of ingroup exaltation is rarely heard.

It is commonly felt that the Tahltan Indians are unaggressive, while the latter people in turn look down on the Kaska as uncouth "bush Indians." The Tahltan, as Old Man pointed out, in their attitude toward the Kaska are influenced by the memory of their ancestors fighting these more southern Indians. Mildred Lang expressed a typical attitude toward the Telegraph Creek people when she said: "Too many Tahltans here. They're too rough. Fight too much." She also censured two local dwelling Tahltan families as being too "high toned," i.e., they tried to maintain a social exclusiveness which sometimes led to directly snubbing certain Kaska Indians, including herself. River Joe indicated that marriage between Tahltan and Kaska people is to be discouraged. The few marriages of this type, however, seem to be well established. On another occasion, when River Joe was intoxicated, he is reported to have become openly abusive of the Tahltan, claiming that they had no right to live in Kaska country. To the ethnographer he said that the Telegraph Creek Indians always get into fights when they have been drinking. The tenacity of Kaska attitudes toward these neighbors may be gauged from the fact that in 1945 a local restaurant lost considerable trade when the management was given to a Tahltan family. Although no organized boycott occurred, many Kaska kept their genius not to spend money in that place. Our evidence thus corroborates what Morice saw around 1900, when he wrote: "Even to this day the Kaska resent the Tahltan's assumed or real superiority, and will not be confounded with them as co-members of the same tribe."[20]

[20] Morice, The Déné-zaa and their Language (typewritten), 100.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

648 In contrast to the Tahltan, the Bear Lake people, with whom considerable marriage has
186 taken place, are accepted with little discrimination. Attitudes toward the Pelly Indians are also less hostile. The feeling of the Kaska is that the latter people are far less acculturated, that they still rely primarily on meat for food, and that they are therefore more hardy. There is a half-laughing tendency to admire this hardiness, which suggests some ambivalence of feeling. Old Man opined that the women of one lower Pelly River tribe, the Selkirk, were all unfaithful. "You sit in camp, if you're married to Selkirk woman, and your wife sees another man. When you go out and you come back you find your wife gone with kids. Selkirk Injuns always like that."

Not much is known of the Slave Indians who dwell to the east beyond the Rocky Mountains. When Louis Maza heard that these people lacked the potlatch, his immediate judgement was: "Just like dog." Then he wanted to know if they didn't abandon the bodies of their dead anyplace, without troubling to inter the corpses. When this was denied, he nevertheless praised the care with which the Upper Laird people treated their dead.

Contradictory attitudes are often manifested by the Indians toward the whites. White people who are not "high toned," associate with Indians, and participate in the latter's activities are treated with a great show of enthusiasm and friendship. These attitudes were markedly expressed toward the American soldiers and construction workers who, in visiting the area, were not only cordial to the natives but also generous, giving the latter gifts of food, liquor, and other objects. Occasionally less favorable sentiments toward whites betray themselves, as when Old Man requested an Indian youth to help him run a white man's boat, saying that he didn't want to rely wholly on "stupid" whites. Resentment toward American troops was also aroused in Indian youths when these soldiers monopolized native girls. River Joe once sent a complaint to the commanding officer of the RCAF, claiming that Canadian Air Force men had disturbed his camp in the middle of the night while looking for girls. Joe was, however, proud of his friendship with American soldiers and civilians, although fully aware that his unmarried daughter and niece were the chief reasons for his popularity. The Kaska are cognizant of the fact that many white men regard them as inferior and often spread distorted reports of Indian customs. Such attitudes, although covertly resented, do not lead to quarrels unless Indians have been drinking. Occasionally white men also take it upon themselves to criticize an Indian girl's promiscuous behavior. The girl usually reacts by denying the allegations and indignantly branding her accuser a "liar."

White men who demonstrate hardihood in their adaptation to the environment and who are good hunters, quickly meet the Indians' approval. Whites who fail to develop such abilities are pitied rather than condemned. A number of Kaska men (including Richard Day and Old Man) are characterized by strong ingratiatory behavior toward whites. Old Man frankly emphasized such demeanor as a valuable technique for getting along with white men, by which he meant receiving gifts and favors—especially liquor—from them.

Sexual Relations

138 In this section the interpersonal relations arising out of the socially patterned sexual impulse are discussed. Recent studies have shown that societies differ in the values and

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182 expression of hostility against the wife's lover and there is no evidence of a woman actually fighting her husband's mistress, even though this threat is feared.

182 [186] As far as the stability of the society is concerned, the atomism characterizing social relations is related to the fact that there is little discrimination directed toward groups like *métis* or bastards. Foreigners, particularly the Tahltan, are warmly disliked and differentially treated but are, of course, by definition not members of the in group. This raises the significant point that the stability of Kaska society cannot be accredited to the mutual identification of the group's members, since even within a tribe the degree of such identification is slight. Rather we must explain Kaska morale atomistically as resting on the feeling that life in the group is congenial for the individual because it offers him an adequate opportunity to carry on interpersonal relations in the manner for which his personality has been conditioned. The satisfactions afforded by the technical culture, despite the fact that they have been importantly modified by acculturation, are still congruent with the patterns of interpersonal adjustment demanded as a consequence of the socialization process. Such satisfactions, therefore, are subjectively greater than any that would be afforded by life outside the society. Boys who have spent a brief term in boarding school may enjoy the stimulation of outside places, but apparently they are not attracted to the forms of interpersonal organization present in the white society. Thus they are not attracted to the employer-employee relationship even as this occurs in Lower Post. Nevertheless, it may be suggested that the hiatus between the increased responsibilities introduced with contemporary economic life, the increased effort that must be invested in trapping, and the ideas of futurity which are demanded as part of the trapping economy all contrive to undermine some portion of the Indians' morale. This is especially true because of the fact that socialization procedures have not become modified to fit the individual for participation in the new technical culture that is evolving. How effectively this discontinuity will be solved is a question for future research.

Another important threat to morale comes from the activities of the government agents whose behavior is totally at variance with the key forces of the social structure. Authority, direction, and supervision are producing considerable uneasiness in the Indians since effective flight is difficult. Significantly, in 1945, a number of men promised that the following year they would not spend the summer in Lower Post but would camp near the Highway crossing or on the east bank of the Dease River out of reach of the police.

191 Summing up, Kaska social behavior and attitudes may be described as adequately pro-
192 viding for the maintenance of deferent human relationships within the group, although certain inconsistent points, particularly in the spheres of property and personality development, introduce stresses in interpersonal relations. Despite these stresses and, in some cases, because of their deferent handling, conflicts within the group are not so severe as to promote instability, although the pressure of an organized authoritarian white society is considerably lowering morale by undermining the satisfactions which the Kaska have been accustomed to find in their atomistic social setting.

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159 fifty. I became frightened and yelled to my brother as loud as I could. My brother came back with a gun. He fired and a wolf dropped right behind me. Every one of them fell as my brother fired. That stopped the pack. My mother used to warn us children not to go out at night. She told us if we went out after dark, the last thing people would hear would be our yells when an eagle carried us up in the air.

After a while I went to Ross River to live with my mother's sister and her husband. This was the first year that the trader had started a post on an island in the river. Four years later they moved the post a half-mile to the Pelly River. I remember it was winter and we went there with toboggan, the people dragging it because there were few dogs then. There were many Indians camping at the post. The storeman, Dan, had bunks in the house for the Indians. When we got there we saw many things. That year we stayed at the post for two nights. The storeman promised to raise me when I was ready to live with him.

159 538 At this time my mother told me many stories. She told me about a woman who could never snare any gopher but would come home empty-handed and eat lice. She grew weaker and weaker. Finally, the lice started coming out of her nose. The people thought that she must have swallowed them without chewing and the lice continued to live inside her body. [58] Finally the woman died. When I was small my mother had many lice. People that time could never get rid of them; they didn't even try, but just picked and chewed them. My brother always used to eat marrow with a scissors. He was only five years old. One cold day, the scissors froze against his lower lip. He cried for his mother and they put boiling water on the metal to free it. Later water came out of his lip.

159 Soon I started trapping for the first time. I had about twelve traps, including ten iron traps that Dan gave me. We went to Pelly River and I caught ten marten. We came to Pelly Banks, where there was a small post run by Mr. Mail. Here I bought a .22. I was going to buy a big gun, but my brother told me it would be too heavy. Towards spring my uncle died from a hole in the side of his body through which rotten stuff poured. He thought that, because he had taken away a man's gun, somebody was making bad medicine for him. The man had owed him some money. It was April when he died and we were living in an open camp. They took him to Pelly Banks, where the white people insisted on building a coffin for the body.

In the summer my aunt went to Ross River, remembering Dan's promise to bring me up. Dan took me away from my folks and brought me to his home across the slough. He was going to raise me because he had no son. I was wearing ragged clothes. Dan and another man threw away my clothes. They bathed me and gave me nice things to wear. My aunt cried but I didn't. I was satisfied and figured I was going to live good. The next morning I began to help Dan plant spuds. My mother missed me and I could hear her crying every evening on the island across the slough where many Ross River Indians were living. She was really my aunt, but just the same as my mother. The Indians were living on store grub and in open camps—just a tarp covering bedding and other stuff. Although my mother had nine sons, two of them married, she still missed me because I had done a lot of work around the [186] camp. She didn't want me to live with the white man because she wanted me to be an Indian, like an old timer. She thought that after she died I would look after my sister [cousin]. She knew I was good hearted and kind.